/5 cont./

114 culture, along with a word list (12), while the latter describes his

12. Salathé, 1931/32.

visits in the Xiriâna (Shiriana) and Waikâ (Uaika) maloka which were still on the Demini, or rather a branch, in 1932 (13).

13. Holdridge, 1933.

101 114 On the basis of a perusal of the research reports of Zerries (14) (15)

• 127 14. Zerries, 1956a.

15. Zerries, 1956b.

and Schuster (16), as well as comparisons with ethnographic data

16. Schuster, 1958a.

and word lists which Salathé gathered among the Karimé (17),

17. Salathé, 1931/32.

Vinci among the Shiriana, Waika, and Samatari (18), and

18. Vinci, 1956.

Koch-Grünberg among the /6/ Xiriâna (Schirianâ) groups, which he describes as linguistically isolated, and a few Waikâ (Waika) (19) (20),

19. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 454-456; 1923a, pp. 284 ff.

20. Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 302-308.

it was possible to determine that the societies investigated belong to a relatively uniform culture group and even linguistically differ

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/6 cont./

114
101
[127]
[[97]]

from each other only slightly in dialectal deviations (see the appendix /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/) (21). How great their

21. Loukotka and Rivet already established the relationship of a few of these languages and grouped them under the general term "Širianá linguistic family," in which they include Širianá, Karimé, Wafka, and Pusárakaú. (Loukotka, 1942, pp. 8/9; Rivet et Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140).

homogeneity is may be seen by the fact that the Surára and Pakidái call themselves Yanonámi and the Waiká and Xiriána, according to Zerries and Schuster, call themselves Yanoáma (22) (23).

22. Zerries, 1956a, p. 187.

23. Schuster, 1958a, pp. 115/16.

However, members of the Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, Puseheweterí, and even of the Xiriána, whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái as wives, visitors, and captives, said that they were Yanonámi. Furthermore, the Surára chief Hewemão enumerated for me 42 more tribes between Catrimani and Rio Negro (24), friendly and hostile, pointing out that these

24. Becher, 1956.

must likewise be included.

In view of this and on the basis of the linguistic and cultural relationship, it would seem to be appropriate to adopt into South American ethnology Yanonámi or Yanoáma as a new designation for the linguistic and culture group made up of these small-sized and light-colored Indians of the northern Amazon. According to the investigations up to now, they occupy a relatively compact area which is bounded in the east and south by the Rio Branco and the Rio Negro, respectively, but in the north and west extends

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

304 small pieces of reed 1-2 centimeters long, from which hang, on
301 one or two short chains of beads, small triangular pieces of silver leaf, shiny silver coins, or particularly large glass beads. Women also have a special preference for these objects. The teeth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which the men use as a knife (see p.115, are a typical feminine ear ornament.
[314] To prevent them from slipping out of the perforation, a small lump of tree resin is stuck on the back end. The perforations of the ear lobes are also adorned now and then with blossoms.

In the perforations of the lower lip and the corners of the mouth on either side the women now and again have delicate little reed rods -- tunhabaácre -- 15-17 and 12-15 centimeters
[184] long, respectively. Among the Xiriána women married to Surára and Pakidái men I observed that they wear, in addition, two little reed rods 30-35 centimeters long in the pierced nasal septum -- huxibéka -- (Ill. 16). This piercing I was told, is reserved for only the female members of this large, mighty tribe.
[184] This also explains why the perforations of the Pusheweteri and Aramamesteri women correspond perfectly to those of their Surára and Pakidái "sisters," that is to say, there is no piercing of the nasal septum. The same applies for Nikeromá, the little captive from the hostile tribe of the Karauateri.

301 All the ornamental objects named are made by the male
422 and female wearers themselves and are regarded as personal property.

304 Due to Koch-Grünberg's research among the Xiriána
301 (Schirianá), Waiká (Waika), and various Karaiben /Carib/ tribes,
184 abundant comparative and supplementary material is available
[171] to me. Thus, the great investigator writes with regard to the
[127] Xiriána (Schirianá): "Nasal septum, /41/ ear lobes, and lower lip were pierced among the men and in many cases adorned with little reed rods almost as long as a hand. On special occasions they also wear a jaguar tooth in the lower lip.

"The women had long reed rods in the pierced ear-lobes, the lower lip, and the corners of the mouth. Three narrow strips of reed, spread out fan-shaped at both ends, adorned the nasal septum (Ill. 12)" (213).

213. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

V /19 cont./
137 traveler, they usually indicate an obstacle, even in dry seasons.
[133] The hygrophilous selvas, constantly green (tropical rain forest), are made up of trees from 20-50 meters in height, intertwined with lianas and epiphytes. The trunks on occasion measure over two meters in diameter, and once in a while they have tabular roots. Among the characteristic species are found: Anacardium rhinocarpus, Terminalia amazonica, Philodendron bipinnatum, Sterculia apetala, Basiloxylon brasiliensis, Astronium graveolens, Brosinum spec., Pouteria spec., Guarea spec., Carapa guianensis, Mora excelsa, Bertholletia excelsa, Hevea benthamiana, and Ochroma lagopus.

In the Venezuelan region of Guayana it is difficult to make a distinction between the zones of hygrophilous selvas and the deciduous mesophilous forests. In Venezuela the deciduous mesophilous forests occupy the most extensive part of all the forest zones. Owing to the dry season, this type of forest has a smaller number of species than the hygrophilous selvas. The trees attain a height between 20-40 meters, and lianas are less abundant than in the hygrophilous forests. Among the important species in the deciduous forests of our region are found: Cedrela mexicana (cedar), Swietenia macrophylla (mahogany), Anacardium rhinocarpus (mijao) Mombacopsis sepium (saquisaqui), Spondias mombin (jobo), Samanea saman (saman) and Tabebuia pentaphylla (apamate) (Hueck, 1960).

V 114 ● 127 As we have already indicated in the preface /untranslated/, the present book is the result of a report on two trips and of a bibliographical study of the extant data on the zone visited (cf. map: Route of the expedition /see p. 3 /). Although it is true that no monographic work has yet been written for any of the tribes of the Orinoco-Ventuari region, it is also true that the great number of articles which have been published on the Indians of that zone is surprising. The material is primarily descriptive, but since they often describe for us aspects of native life which have now disappeared or changed, the general material of these authors is of great value and interest.

/19 cont./

In the present report we use most of the extant data, and their compilation, ordering, and selection, together with our own personal contribution, constitute the study which we present here on the Indians of this part of Venezuela.

For our purpose we followed the footsteps of the great Venezuelan ethnologist, Lisandro Alvarado, who, with the publication of his book, Datos Etnográficos de Venezuela /Ethnographic Data of Venezuela/, took a firm step toward the great task of compiling /20/ all the objective material written over the course of many decades regarding the native tribes of this part of the world (2).

2. Obras completas de Lisandro Alvarado /Complete Works of Lisandro Alvarado/, Vol. 4 (Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura y Bellas Artes). Caracas, 1956.

Our report lacks uniformity with regard to the character and volume of material on the various tribes to which we refer, but this fact reflects precisely our present sporadic knowledge concerning the tribes, which, in the last phase of their autochthonous life, urgently invite the competent ethnologist to leave testimony of a human conglomerate of our ancient American continent. /Maps 5 and 6 appear here. Pages 21-176 are not included in the translation./

/179 cont./

619 [624] [596] Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local groups which form a band of extended families and provide the peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

[184] [194] From what has been published up to the present regarding the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

● 127 128 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to [797] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

Bari SS 13
Makiritare SS 20
Sanema
Warao SS 18
Saliva SS 15

/179 cont./

Y 131 ● 127 128 We have knowledge of the distribution of the Sanemá on the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura from our own expedition's personnel, while we took the data on the Casapare from the excellent cartographic work of Montoya (1958), who visited the zone over a period of several months.

Y [101] /180/ The name Casapare is employed by the Sanemá to designate their neighbors to the east. Koch-Grünberg (1923) had already mentioned the group of the Upper Uraricapará, a tributary of the Uraricuera and the one that occupied the right shore of the Uraricuera River, facing the Marutani range, on the Motomotó River. The broken lines indicate, approximately, the territory occupied by each Yanoama subtribe. The location of the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma comes from the map published by Civrieux (1959), and that of the other settlements of that tribe was verified by the personnel of our expedition.

M 131 127

Y 131 161 According to this map, the territory inhabited at the present time by the Yanoama is located between 0° 30' – 5° N and 62° – 65° 30' W. If we grant that the total Yanoama population reaches the figure of 20,000 individuals spread out over an area of 150,000 square kilometers, we recognize as the density index of the population that of one person per 7.5 square kilometers. There are authors who, being overly generous, raise the Yanoama population to 30,000 and even 50,000 inhabitants, but this number seems exaggerated to us.

B C 161 177 It is interesting to point out that the highest figures for the native population correspond to the primitive tribes of hunters and fishermen or to those who had an incipient or rudimentary agriculture, such as: the Barí (Motilones, Mapé), 2,000; the Piaroa, 4,000; and the Warao, 8,000.

They are also the tribes which have had least contact with the white man. There is an interesting and instructive relation between the demographic datum of a native population and the number of years that it has had contact with Whites: the higher the latter, the lower the former.

/181 cont./

101 name. We included the Casapare among the Yanoama on the basis of information from the Sanemá of the Erebato, who assured us that they speak a language similar to theirs.

101 The limited scientific data at our disposal and which refer
● 127 to the Casapare all come from the northern group, and their interpretation is relatively difficult because of the fact that on the Uraricuera River the Waica and Sanemá zones of distribution come together with that of the Casapare, and the chroniclers were unable to distinguish with precision and clarity the representatives of the different subtribes.

101 The ethnic differentiation which appeared very early in the respective biographical sources was that of the Shirishana and Guaharibo (with their multiple orthographic variations). At the present time there is not the slightest doubt that we are dealing with Yanoama Indians, but we do not think that it is proper to identify the Guaharibo and Shirishana as a single group with two distinct names. It is our opinion, on the contrary, that each name designates a more or less distinct group of the Yanoama, and that "Shirishana" refers to the Casapare, and "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá. The Sanemá of the Territorio Amazonas of Venezuela have been known from the beginning by the name Guaharibo. The confusion of the two terms originates precisely in the northern zone under discussion, where the two subtribes live in close geographic proximity. Thus, we believe that among the Yanoama of the Paragua there are Sanemá in the west or on the headwaters of the Paragua itself, while the Casapare /182/ occupy the territory toward the east and are established principally along the length and on the banks of the Paramichi.

This close contact between the representatives of the two subtribes is recent, as we shall point out later on, and it is almost certain that today there is some genetic and cultural fusion between the two groups. To the south of the Sierra Pacarima they also have some relations, but more sporadically, since they occupy two distinct zones: the Casapare (Shirishana) on the Uraricuera to the north of Maraça Island; and the Sanemá (Guaharibo) and the Waica, the territory farther to the southwest.

Sanema
Casapare
Makiritare SS 20
Pemon SS 16

Y
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[127]

/182 cont./

With regard to the Casapare of the Uraricuera River, we have the data supplied us by Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 284-319), and a comparison of his "Shirishana" vocabulary with the "Shirishana" vocabulary of Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108) gives us the impression that both are very much alike, but differ greatly from the Sanemá family (cf. glotto-chronological sketch see p. 49 /). In spite of the fact that they now occupy adjacent geographic zones, we prefer to make a clear distinction in the literature between the "Shirishana" (Casapare) and "Guaharibo" (Sanemá), considering them as two different subtribes of the Yanoama tribe. According to their linguistic separation, they represent, in fact, the two extreme poles of maximum distance (18).

18. Note that this does not mean that we also continue with the old nomenclature, but rather that the name "Shirishana" of the literature corresponds to the Casapare subtribe, and the name "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá subtribe, of this work.

Y
648
P
M
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From their center of distribution in Brazil, the Casapare harassed their neighbors, the Pemón and the Makiritare, with continuous raiding from the time that the latter arrived at the northern slope of the Serranía. It seems that the Taurepán (Pemón) were never able to establish a pueblo farther west than the eastern point of Maraca Island on the Uraricuera and that the Makiritare maintained their advanced posts at the cost of great losses and sacrifices, until finally they were forced to abandon them in the face of the constant threat and the imminent danger of losing their lives.

Y
M
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The Makiritare began to lose ground at least some 120 years ago, when the Yanoama killed a number of Makiritare Indians (Schomburgk, 1841, pp. 437-8, 444), and it would seem that at the present time Tarakuñiña on the upper Yararejuri is the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía.

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as
114 Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have con-
128 sidered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 The linguistic material which the author of the present
192 work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 In order to classify this material within the different
192 Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others
174 belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we
197 established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabu-
197 laries were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the
174 Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956,
126 pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73
127 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

/192 cont./

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The Casapare vocabulary was taken from Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308). It has 303 entries in all, 65 of which corresponds to the basic vocabulary. There is another Casapare vocabulary compiled by Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108), which has a total of 232 entries, 54 words of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. From the expedition's itinerary we know that the last-mentioned authors visited the Shirianá of the Paramichí River (tributary of the headwaters of the Paragua), a zone considered in the present work as an extension of the Casapare territory of Brazil.

Koch-Grünberg obtained his vocabulary among the Schirianá of the Uraricapará (1923, p. 288), and a comparison of the two vocabularies seems to indicate a closer affinity between them than that which exists with any other Yanoama language. The glottochronological calculation is based on Koch-Grünberg's material.

The Waica vocabulary comes from Dr. Zerries, who generously furnished us a basic one of 96 words of the Waica of the upper Orinoco.

Recently another vocabulary of the same language was published by /map appears here/ /193/ Anduze (1958, pp. 258-267), which contains 369 entries. The present calculation is based on the material provided by Zerries.

We give the "Samatari" vocabulary this name provisionally, for more precisely it is the idiom of the Surara and Pakidai of the Demini River in Brazil. The material was given to us by Dr. Becher in the form of a basic vocabulary which contains 85 words. Between the Surara and Pakidai there exist only slight dialectal differences. A vocabulary of 40 words of the same idiom was published in the monograph on these Indians by Becher (1960, pp. 136-137). Another vocabulary of the southern Yanoama was published by Seitz (1960, p. 306) and contains 40 entries. The few words which permit making a semantic comparison with other similar languages indicate that the Araraibo-Xamatari of Seitz is closer to the Surara, Pakidai, Waica, and Karimé than to the Sanemá and Casapare.

[text continues on p. 44]

/193 cont./

174 197 [192] [127] We were not able to obtain the vocabulary of the Karimé published by Salathé (1932, pp. 314-316). Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 134-138) places it between the Waica and the Casapare (Schirianá of Koch-Grünberg).

According to the results of the lexico-statistical calculation (cf. p. 47), it can be said that the idioms compared form a linguistic conglomerate whose internal divergences date from 6-35 minimal centuries (mc). By their temporal distribution they constitute two more or less distinct groups: a) a Sanemá family with Nabudub, Sanemá, and Pubmatari, with an internal divergence of 6-17 mc., and b) a Casapare family with Samatari, Waica, and Casapare and with an internal divergence of 8-21 mc. The extreme languages are Nabudub (of the Sanemá) and Casapare. The distance of the Waica from the three Sanemá idioms corresponds to 17 mc., which is the same as the maximum internal distance of the Sanemá family, and the Nabudub have the same difficulty in understanding a Pubmatari or a Waica; they should, however, understand each other, although with some difficulty. The Waica has greater ties with the Samatari, with whom he can communicate orally without any great difficulty.

Other classifications of the Yanoama idioms were made by Rivet (1924, p. 678), Loukotka (1944, pp. 8-9), Mason (1950, p. 254), Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140), McQuown (1955), Swadesh (1959), and Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137).

Koch-Grünberg (1913, pp. 455-458) had established by 1913 the independence of the Yanoama idiom (Shiriana) from the Caribe and added that the idiom apparently represented an isolated language. Rivet (1924, p. 678) and W. Schmidt (1926, p. 211) shared the opinion of Koch-Grünberg regarding the affiliation and independence of the "Shirishana" family. /194/ The classification of the "Shirishana Family" by Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140) includes the following idioms:

Shirishana Family

[101] a) Shirishana (or Guaharibo), who live dispersed in small groups in the interior, along the tributaries of the

/194 cont./

174 197 101 Uraricuera and on the southern slopes of the Sierra de Parima;

b) Karime (or Shaufri), on the Catemany River in the same region;

c) Waika, who live on the upper Ocamo and Mocajahy, right tributaries of the upper Orinoco;

d) Pusírakáu, an unknown wild tribe which lives in the Sierra Parima.

174 197 As we mentioned above, we are inclined to differentiate between Shirishana (Casapare) and Guaharibo (Sanemá), which would seem to be linguistically justified by the distance of 23-35 mc between them. Rivet bases his opinion, it would seem, on Koch-Grünberg's material (1928), which we have also used in our comparison. The Pusírakáu idiom (d), which also appears in Loukotka's classification (1944, pp. 8-9), is a completely unknown idiom and therefore does not figure in Mason's classification (1950, p. 254), which presented the following Shirishaná grouping:

[127] [101] SHIRISHANÁ

A.--Waharibo (Guaharibo)

1. Shirianá

a) Waicá (Guaica, Uaica)

B.--Carimé (Karimé)

174 197 114 According to Mason, Shirianá and the less important Carimé are the principal idioms of the family. This observation is based upon Koch-Grünberg's material (1928, Shiriana), which was identified in our comparison as Casapare, and, as the greater separation of the Yanoama stock corresponds to that language, we must admit the value of Mason's opinion. Carimé does not figure in our classification.

Furthermore, Mason is of the opinion that the Waica idiom is, possibly, a dialect of Shirianá (Casapare), but, according to the glottochronological calculation, he does not seem to be on firm ground. The distance between the two idioms is 21 mc, which is much greater than a dialectal difference of 5-7 mc. Waica appears on the graph as closer to Sanemá (17-18mc). The opinion of /195/ many researchers that Shirianá (Casapare) and Waica are descended from the Guaharibo (Sanemá) seems to have some justification.

St Layrisse et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.[2]

Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casapare, Waica, Samatari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms.

Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochtonous populations of lowland South America, but perviously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far.

Linguistic classification. Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.[3] Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.[4]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: *A. Sanemá*: (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudíb, (c) Pubenatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudíb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubenatari = 17 mc, Nabudíb-Pubenatari = 17 mc]; *B. Casapare*: (a) Casapare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Samatari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casapare-Waica = 21 mc, Casapare-Samatari = 21 mc, Waica-Samatari = 8 mc].

2 Surara-Pakidái, by Becher, 1960; Waica, by Baker, 1953; Schauer, 1938; Zerries, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960; Sanemá, by Vinci, 1939; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

3 Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mason, 1950, p. 254; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 323; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 20; Dell' Igua Rodrigues, 1960, pp. 136-137.

4 We are indebted to Drs H. Becher and O. Zerries for having us have a basic vocabulary of Surara-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a.

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

123 were, if anything, even more violent than those of the Orinoco. At its mouth it is about three hundred yards wide compared to the four hundred yards of the Orinoco just below the juncture. Chaffanjon, doubtless influenced by wishful thinking and his growing proximity to the river's source, stated these widths to be only eighty and one hundred yards respectively. He similarly exaggerated his description of the ruggedness of the river-bed. But inaccuracies of this kind were by no means uncommon among explorers of the last century, as Jean Hurault showed of Anatole Coudreau's account of his exploration of the rivers of French Guiana.

123 The Padamo comes down Marahuaca—probably the highest
133 massif of the Guianan mountains—in a series of waterfalls. It is fed by two major tributaries, the Voltamo and the Matacuni, the last named rising in that remarkable " water tower " formed by the junction of the Sierra Parima and the Sierra Pacaraima ; here rise the Ventuari, the Erebato, the Merevari, the Auari and the Ocamo.

Three hours later we reached the Ocamo, above which the Orinoco becomes noticeably narrower, for only the Mavaca now remains as a tributary of importance. The Mavaca, whose upper reaches were explored by Cardona in 1941, runs practically parallel to the Orinoco in a generally westerly direction until it is diverted northwards where it meets the mountains and joins the main river. These mountains are shown in Diez de la Fuente's sketch-maps and are the cause of the Orinoco's north-western change of course as far as Esmeralda. Formed of layers of sandstone, their summits tower high above the forest. We had not realized that the sandstone Roraima Formation extended so far east nor, for that matter, so far south. Until then, we had accepted the generally-held belief that the granite mass of Piedra del Cocuy was typical of the mountains east and south of Duida. Observing from the river, it seemed to me that the sandstone beds were not horizontal, though it was not possible to observe either the angle or direction of their dip.

[127] We were using Hamilton Rice's sketch-map (scale 1–750,000) embracing the Rio Negro, the Casiquiare, and the Upper

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

Orinoco to the Guaharibo Rapids. On this the river's course is given in great detail, showing not only the major tributaries but a great many minor ones as well, though there is no indication of their size. From first-hand experience it was clear to us that the contribution of some of the lesser tributaries was anything but negligible. There are, for instance, the Iguapo, which joins the Orinoco from the right ten miles above Esmeralda after itself being joined by a river its own size, and another river, unnamed as far as I know, which has its mouth midway between the Padamo and the Ocamo. And entering from the other bank come the Lipe and the Icipe, of which the latter is eighty yards wide at the confluence. Of these four only the Iguapo has been explored and that by Diez de la Fuente.

Above the Mavaca the Orinoco's mean width is less than two hundred yards. Its general direction of flow is east to west with a slight northern tendency and surprisingly, since it nowhere else does so in its thousand miles journey from Mavaca to the sea, it twists and turns pronouncedly.

Since we had left Esmeralda the only birds we had seen were single specimens of black ibis, large kingfishers and droves of white egrets. The egrets would sit craning their necks in the trees and, as we approached, would fly up only to settle down a little farther away. It was as though no human being had ever disturbed their forests. Once or twice we saw a pair of otters diving from a rock or dead tree stump and once we shot at an anaconda which was placidly coiled round a tree. We watched as it slowly unwound and disappeared into the murky water.

That evening we took one of the *curiaras* up a small tributary and fished, but the spate was too strong. Instead of fish we gathered some forest cocoa whose pulp is a refreshing drink when newly made.

The First Waikas

The Padamo and Ocamo rivers are inhabited by Guaharibos. Above the Ocamo, the inhabitants of the Orinoco's banks call themselves Waikas. They closely resemble the Guaharibos we had met at Esmeralda but are, perhaps, a little more primitive. Some had had previous contact with Butrón's wood-cutters.

similar to that presented here, and I regard my own efforts in this area as supplemental to the generally excellent ethnographic work of Zerries (1964) and Schuster (1958).

Without genealogical data it is not possible to estimate the degree to which marriage practices deviate from stated preference, nor to grasp the importance of these deviant cases in Yąnomamö politics.

The histories of the five villages are equally important, as they illustrate the role of warfare in determining settlement pattern, the development of political ties between villages, and the process of village splitting. These factors provide the matrix within which the genealogical data become meaningful.

Piecing together the history of these groups of villages proved to be a difficult task. The geographical area under discussion is unexplored and unmapped. Not even major rivers are accurately known in their upper courses, so that of two published versions of the Siapa River I have had to choose the one most consistent with the account given to me by the Indians. The major problem in this regard has been the identification of a large river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u, whose headwaters lie near the source of the Orinoco River. According to my Yąnomamö informants (people who have either lived on this river or have visited or raided villages located on it), the Shukumöna-u, in its middle course, is nearly as large as the Orinoco at its junction with the Mavaca River. It flows in a westerly

827 direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of
128 mountains. At a few points the Shukumõna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

128 Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extend-
131 ing nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the
133 Indians claim the Shukumõna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from
128 Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map
133 published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for
129 the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the
[128] Shukumõna-u of the Yąnomamõ. I have used more recent maps,
[114] also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

126 In reconstructing the history of the village move-
174 ments, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have
361 relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the
133 Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimõwi-bora in Yąnomamõ) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karõbõ-bora in Yąnomamõ) near the present village of Kashorawõ-tedi.

126 I employed three sources of information to locate
361 present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages
[115] I personally visited. Second, information from James P.
[197]